

## BARTHÉLEMY ANEAU: A STUDY IN HUMANISM

(Continued from page 207)

### IV

THE literary activity of Aneau really begins with his election to the principalship of the Collège de la Trinité. Before 1540, literature was for him mainly a subject for the class-room. The few poems that he composed were either a diversion or intended to inspire his pupils. But after his election to this high position, he enjoyed greater influence in the social life of the city. The successful production of the *Mystère de la nativité* had indeed made of him a well-known local character; but now it devolved upon him to take part in all the important civic functions and write epigrams on contemporary events. He was placed on reception committees, and was usually requested, when the city welcomed a notable, to write a poem or a play commemorating the occasion. "Arriva-t-il en ville un accident," says M. Demogeot, "Aneau le racontait; un prince, Aneau le haranguait; une sottise, Aneau s'en moquait; une fête, Aneau en réglait les préparatifs."<sup>1</sup>

Although there were many poets and scholars in Lyons at this time, any one of whom was fully as capable as Aneau to fill this rôle, yet none held quite the same place in the esteem of the public. When Sainte-Marthe failed in his effort to secure the principalship of the Collège de la Trinité, Aneau began, in a way, to be aware of his own popularity. This probably explains the vanity that he manifests at times in later life—the innocent vanity of a self-satisfied pedagogue.<sup>2</sup> But we must be careful not to exaggerate this failing. Ordinarily he was very modest. "Exclusivement dévoué au culte des lettres," says M. Ferdinand Buisson, "Aneau partageait ses loisirs entre la muse latine et la muse française."<sup>3</sup> If he had not

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Le Collège de la Trinité in Lyon ancien et moderne*, Lyons, 1838-43, vol. I, p. 413.

<sup>2</sup> Cf., for example, his criticisms on the *Deffence et Illustration* in the *Quintil Horatian*.

<sup>3</sup> *Castellion*, I, pp. 22-23.

possessed "les qualités rares de science, de bonté, et d'amabilité," to use the words of M. Mugnier,<sup>4</sup> he would not certainly have enjoyed such exceptional popularity amongst his pupils. "A' une connaissance profonde des lettres grecques et latines," says M. Demogeot, "il joignait une élocution facile, un abord gracieux. Il faisait des vers latins *durs d'accord*, mais ingénieux, des vers français où l'esprit manquait moins que le naturel."<sup>5</sup> An *esprit orné mais léger*,<sup>6</sup> he was careful to avoid religious and philosophical questions. In fact, all quarrels were repugnant to him. Only once did he engage in one; and that was when he criticised the *Deffence* of Du Bellay—a purely literary discussion. But even then he does not reveal his identity. When Buttet made a savage attack on him in the *Apologie pour la Savoie* in 1554,<sup>7</sup> Aneau did not reply. His chariness concerning religious questions was probably due to the fact that, being inclined to protestantism, he did not wish to expose himself to the shafts of his many bitter enemies. He knew, no doubt, of the fate of the unfortunate Cadurce, who was sent to the stake at Toulouse in 1532, accused of having taught heresy in his classes. He was also acquainted with the troubles of the scholarly jurist and Latin poet, Jean de Boyssonné, who was forced to abjure the reformed faith in the same city under the penalty of death.<sup>8</sup> But prudence availed Aneau little. "Aneau était choqué des disputes de l'école," adds M. Demogeot, "et, dès lors, *il sentait mal de la foi*."<sup>9</sup> We can, therefore, easily understand the diffident attitude assumed by this professor in regard to questions of theology and philosophy. The Church had sought to gain possession of the Collège de la Trinité in 1530, and was not dismayed by that first defeat.<sup>10</sup> Aneau had possibly a premonition of what Fate had in store for him; and, a few years later, Buttet warned him of it in a most brutal manner.

<sup>4</sup> Marc-Claude de Buttet, Paris, 1896, p. 102.

<sup>5</sup> *Lyon ancien et moderne*, *ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> Rabanis, *ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> Mugnier, *ibid.*

<sup>8</sup> For Cadurce as well as Boyssonné, see my article on *Deux lettres inédites de Jean de Boyssonné*, in the *Revue de la Renaissance*, VII, 1906, pp. 228-32.

<sup>9</sup> *Lyon ancien et moderne*, *loc. cit.*

<sup>10</sup> Cf. my article on *Le Collège de la Trinité*, etc., *Revue de la Ren.*, X, 1909, pp. 137, etc.

## V

The success of the *Mystère de la Nativité* encouraged Aneau to make another effort of a similar nature. This play, entitled the *Lyon marchand*, was represented in the college in 1541.<sup>11</sup> Its purpose was, without doubt, to inspire his pupils with civic patriotism, for as we shall see, *Vérité* gives the palm of victory, notwithstanding the pretensions of Paris, Rohan and Orleans, to *Lyon marchand*, the merchant city of Lyons.

The dedicatory preface, written in the same simple and graceful manner as the rest of the work, is addressed to M. de Langey (Guillaume du Bellay), one of the most famous warriors of the time.

"Ceste satyre a vous, Monseigneur," says the poet, "non pas dediée: (car ce n'est chose sainte, ne diuine) mais offerte en petit present: ne vous demande rien, sinon pour recreation de vos necessaires labeurs, estre leue de vous, comme de l'un des tres bons françois (ie tais les aultres langues, et vertus) que ie cognoisse au jourd'huy" (A1 v°).

The play opens with the *cry des monstres de la satyre* (A2 r°). The first personage to appear upon the stage is *Lyon, marchant à pied*. He is followed by *Arion* and *Vulcain*, to whom he addresses these words:

Des animaulx brutz le Prince et Monarche  
Ferme sur pied comme vn mont Pelion,  
Par propre force auant les aultres marche  
Marchant de soy soustenu le Lyon.

In order that the reader may not fail to comprehend the symbolism of the poem, Aneau has inserted in the margin the words, *Lyon cité marchande*.

The next quatrain, which is pronounced by Arion, contains a

<sup>11</sup>*Lyon marchand/Satyre Francoise. Sur la coparaison/de Paris, Rohan, Lyon, Orleans, &/sur les choses memorables depuys/Lan mil cinq cens vingt-quatre./Soubz Allegories, & Enigmes/Par personnages mysticques/iouée au College de la/Trinité à Lyon./1541./M. D. XLII./On les vend a Lyon en rue Merciere/par Pierre de Tours./Small 8vo of 20 unnumbered ff., goth. char., signed A-B by 8; C by 4. Bibl. nat., Rés. Ye1656. Reprinted by G(iraud) V(einant), June 15, 1831, chez Pinard, rue d'Anjou-Dauphine, no. 8, à Paris. Of the 42 copies composing this edition, two are in the Bibl. nat., Rés. Ye4347 and 1657. Cf. Brunet, III, cols. 1253-4.*

reference to the sudden death of the young Dauphin in 1536. This sad event stirred all France; and, as usual in those exciting times, an innocent man, Sébastien de Montecuculo, was accused of having poisoned him and paid the penalty with his life. Arion addresses the *Lyon* as follows:

Jadis on vit le harpeur Arion  
En haulte mer, porté sur vn Daulphin  
De l'homme amy, chantant ver Orthrion  
Mais maintenant il gemit son desin.

Vulcan, who aroused Francis I and Charles V to war, speaks in his turn:

Vulcan forgeant fouldre en feu, de fer fin,  
Trempe l'ouurage en Styx fluue de larmes,  
Pour puy apres plonger en sang, affin  
Destonner toute Europe par alarmes.

Then enters Paris, *monté sur vn cheual roan (Rohan)*. The  *cité souveraine*—as the poet indicates in the margin—addresses his rival in these terms:

Paris apprins aulx amours plus qu'aulx armes  
Diuins corps nudz tousiours veoir vouldroit bien,  
Mais en ayant ses pasteurs bons gens d'armes,  
Pour estre grand est monté sur Rohan.

*Aurelian*, or, as the poet states in the margin, *Orléans, forte cité*, now enters, and exclaims:

Et l'empereur nommé Aurelian  
Victorieulx en mainte bataille (A2 v°)  
De seruitude en craignant le lien  
L'arme d'harnois faict de pierre de taille.

The next personage to make his entrance is *Androdus*, who represents Jean d'Albon, seigneur de St. André, a celebrated captain of Lyonnese origin. On Dec. 30, 1542, d'Albon, who was *bailli* of Mâcon and *sénéchal* of Lyons, succeeded the Cardinal de Tournon as governor of the Lyonnais.<sup>12</sup> D'Albon had just passed some

<sup>12</sup> Jean d'Albon was appointed to the above positions in 1530. He died in 1549, and was succeeded the same year by Jacques d'Albon, maréchal de St. André. Cf. Pericaud, *Notes et Documents*.

time in the Orient among the *Turcs chiens*, to use the words supplied by Aneau in the margin; and his quatrain explains why he returned:

Androdus craingt moins l'estoch que la taille,  
Et ayme mieulx, vivre vie sauluage  
'Auec Lyon, qui sa vie luy baille,  
Que viure avec les hommes en seruage.

Europe, *très bonne partie du monde*, complains of the wars from which she suffers:

Du tort Vulcan voiant l'hideux ouurage,  
La paoure Europe une fois ia rauie  
Par Juppiter, crainct vn second rauage  
Tremblant de paour d'estre aux chiens asseruie.

But *Ganymedes* tries to assuage her fears:

Joye en conseil et bon espoir de vie  
Ganymedes l'enfant Royal apporte,  
Et de conseil mutuel, sans enuie,  
Joye en conseil a Europe il r'apporte.

Finally *Vérité* comes forth from the earth—for do not the Psalms say *veritas de terra orta est*? She explains first why she considers her presence necessary:

En fin fault-il que la verite sorte  
Mise hors terre euidente en clarté,  
Pour tout iuger en equitable sorte,  
Car le feu clair n'est soubz le muid bouté.<sup>13</sup>

Beholding *les chiens d'Orleans* and *Rohan, grande cité au d'ssoubz de Paris*, she expresses the following opinion:

Europe est grande, et pleine de bonté  
Aurelian est vn fort chien couchant,  
Et Paris est dessus Rohan monté,  
Mais deuant tous est le Lyon marchant.

And the poet adds naïvely: *icy marche le Lyon premier*.

The *Cry* is followed by a *Satyre* (A3 r°), which consists of a

<sup>13</sup> In the margin, we find the verse from St. Matthew: *nemo accendit lucernam et ponit sub modio*.

kind of review of the most important contemporary events. First enters Arion *cheuauchant vn Daulphin, et sonnans sur vn lüz, ou lyre, vn chant piteux, et lamentable, comme Douce Memoire*—the name of a *royalle chanson*, in imitation of which Aneau composed one of the Noels in the *Chant natal*. *Puys se leuant et gectant son instrument*, Arion sings three dizains on the death of the Dauphin. He calls upon the fish of the sea to come and weep with him for the young Dauphin, *jadis plus clair que le métal d'or fin*.<sup>14</sup>

Vulcan, like the demons in the mystery plays, issues forth from *un soubsterrain, et mettant hors vne serpentine suscripte Guerre, d'icelle tire vn coup soudain*. He asks the others if they are not afraid; and then explains, in two douzains, that the beast he has brought with him is War:

Guerre forgee a destruire, a conquerre  
Au goulphe obscur du centre de la terre.

*On tire derechef vn coup dedans ladicte piece, au son duquel Paris, dormant au pied du mont Ida, se reueille comme en sursault, et le lyon sort d'entre les rochiers, et tous les aultres personnages (fors que Ganymedes, et Verite) sortent en plain Theatre, comme tous esbahiz (A4 r°)*. As they do not understand the purport of this terrible noise, Vulcan explains that

C'est vn coup de matines,  
Que Vulcan sonne avec son gros bafroy.

Europe trembles *de paour*, and asks, *de quelle part vient ce monstre, qu'on nous monstre?* Vulcan replies:

N'en sentez-vous pas le vent  
Du leuant,  
Du Pouant, Surest et North  
Des Deux Poles se leuant  
Dous seruant  
Des dessertes de la mort.

There follows a series of historical events, to each of which Aneau devotes several descriptive verses. The most important are:

Les Gantoys se offrans au Roys et non receuz; la retraicte de

<sup>14</sup>The poet is unable to resist the temptation to play upon the words, *Dauphin* and *D'or fin*.

l'empereur avec parte de ses gens ; passage de l'empereur par France en petit estat ; rebellion des Flamans : le roy souuerain de Flandres ; Sebastien de monte cuculo serra empoisonneur du Daulphin ; ledict esquartele bis a quatre cheuaulx a Lyon ; Messire Philippe Chabot Admiral, mis hors la court puis redintégré par le Roy ; Castelnoue occisa Amboise par vn page ; Anne Boulaine Royne d'Angleterre avec son frere Rochefort, et ses complices decapitez ; le grand seigneur le Turc, et Grèce occupée par les Turcs ; deux cometes en lan 1532 et 1533 ; tremblement de terre l'an 1521.

In regard to the last two events, the poet says :

Bien i'en ay veu signes en l'air troublé,  
Le ciel aussi de cometes comblé,  
D'ond de grand paour ma terre en a tremblé,  
Que reste plus ?

The *Satyre* closes with another judgment of *Vérité*—this time in the form of a ballad, one or two stanzas of which are indeed worth quoting :

Paris est beau, et est le dernier Iuge  
Par le renuoy du grand dieu Iuppiter  
Car de l'arrest, et sentences qu'il iuge  
Par nul appel on ne peut respiter  
Pour courroucer, iurer, ne despiter  
Paris sans per est bien en maintes choses  
Et nations, qui dedans luy sont closes  
De tous les arts, et sciences sachant.  
Treseloquent et en vers, et en proses,  
Mais deuant tous est le Lyon marchant.

Lyon marchant assis en son hault throne  
'Ayant le chef de haulx monts couronné  
Comme Corinthe est de deux mers : du Rhodne  
Et de la Saone il est enuironné.  
De grand beaultez, et de richesse orné  
Gardant du cueur de l'Europe l'entrée  
Et marchissant sur diuerse contrée  
Qui n'est Lyon ne passant, ne couchant,  
Rampant, grippant sa proye rencontrée,  
Mais deuant tous est le Lyon marchant.

Prince ie dy, (Ie qui suis verité)  
 Que nul ne soit de nos dictz irrité  
 En les prenant en quelques sens meschant  
 Car tous trois ont grand honneur merité  
 Mais deuant tous est le Lyon marchant.<sup>15</sup>

After the *Satyre* comes the *histoire de Androdus*, which the author pretends to have found in *Aule Gelle, liure 5, cha. 14, prinse en Appion, polyhistor*. Androdus—i. e. St. André—expresses his gratitude to the *Lyon tresgentil* (B7)

A qui ie doibz ma vie deux fois deué  
 C'est a sauoir nourrie, et defendue,  
 Et me nourrit trois ans dedans sa caue  
 Pour luy auoir vne espine tirée  
 Hors de son pied, et sa playe curée.

The *espine* refers to the great famine of 1531, from which the inhabitants of the city suffered terribly. It was during that year that the benevolent Jean de Vauzelles founded the *Aumône générale*; and at once, according to the legend, the pestilence ceased its ravages.<sup>16</sup> *Vérité* praises the generosity of the city in the following terms:

Hoste de l'homme est vrayement Lyon  
 Qui tous recoipt les estrangiers et serfz  
 Les nourrissant de tous metz et d'essers  
 Quand au banquet d'aulmosne les conuie,  
 Leur ministrant et preseruant la vie  
 Pour luy auoir osté la violence  
 De la poignante espine Pestilence  
 Qui n'y fut oncq' depuis l'aulmosne faicte.  
 Mais vous orrez sa parolle parfaicte  
 Et ne fault ia en esbahir vos testes  
 Si Lyon parle: aussi font d'aultres bestes.

The last four pages of the work (C3 and 4, r° and v°) contain some epigrams *sur aulcunes choses memorables, aduenues a Lyon, audict an 1541*. The first is devoted to the adventures of Captain *Tholosan*, and bears as sub-title the words *liberté plus que vie*. The poet relates how

<sup>15</sup> For a brief review of this play, see Frères Parfaict, III, pp. 45-46.

<sup>16</sup> Pericaud, *op. cit.*, p. 52.



Le Capitaine Antoine Tholosan  
 Pour acomplir vn grand faict, tost l'osant  
 Hardy de cueur: de corps et membres fort,  
 Le corrupteur de sa soeur mist a mort:  
 Osant de force en default de Justice,  
 Parquoy craignant d'un tel faict le supplice  
 En France vint, ou charge eut de gendarmes  
 Et son pays Piedmont surprint par armes  
 'Au Roy Francois en grand' part, le rendant.

This valliant captain was arrested for *lèse majesté*, and imprisoned at Lyons. On the eve of the St. Jean, he killed his three guards, and managed to escape during the storm. Re-arrested on the frontier of Germany, he was brought back to Lyons and decapitated. Even this tragic event does not escape the *esprit* of our poet—witness the closing verses:

Ainsi fina le plus hardy meurtrier  
 Qui se meslast oncques de tel mestier.  
 S'il est captif maintenant en enfer  
 D'estre tué se garde Lucifer.  
 S'il est au ciel: c'est vn pays libere  
 D'ond departir iamais ne delibere.

The next epigram has for its subject a famous beauty of Lyons, Jehanne Reste, or Creste. Gilbert Ducher was also enamoured of her charms.<sup>17</sup> According to Aneau, an admirer offered her two crowns, *si vn passant ramonneur el' baisoit*. The poet continues:

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Breghot du Lut, *Mélanges biogr. et litt.*, Lyons, 1828, p. 212. The epigram of Ducher is addressed to *Janam Crestam Lugdunensem*, and is thus conceived:

Ut turmatim homines cogebat adire Corinthum  
 Conspicuo formae Laïs honore suae:  
 Sic formosarum tu formosissima, prorsus  
 Naturae excellens artificis specimen,  
 Si quo extra prodis, Lugdunum effunditur omne:  
 Humanos oculos tam vehementer alis.  
 Auertant Superi: ne nubis, Cresta marito  
 Acrisio: et fias, clausa domi, Danaë.

*Epigrammaton Libri Duo*, 1538, p. 24. Perneti states that the Latin poet, Voulte, also addressed her some verses, but Breghot du Lut thinks that he is mistaken.

Mais sans desdaing tres bien luy fait la Reste,  
 Car appelant le ramonneur, l'arreste,  
 Puis luy donnant les deux escuz, le baise.  
 O ramonneur, mort bien, que tu fuz aise.  
 Maintouldroit estre a tel pris ramonneur.  
 Or en jugez des trois qui plus vous plaise:  
 L'orgueil confus, la noblesse ou bonheur (L3 v°).

The volume closes with an epigram on the *adventure ruineuse de la maison du Porcellet a Lyon, tresbuchée sur trois ieunes gentils-hommes, Monsieur de Cercy, Corberon et de Senecey, et plusieurs aultres ceans logez* (C4 r°). The sudden collapse of this building was one of the favorite themes of the Lyonnese poets. It was located at the corner of the rue de l'Angile and of the rue de Flandre. The sign of this hotel was a *porc sellé*; but the name *Porcellet* was substituted by the poets in order to make a *jeu de mots*.<sup>18</sup> According to the Père Anselme, this accident happened on the 2nd of February, 1540.<sup>19</sup> The three young noblemen, who were killed, were Jacques Bouton de St Bury, seigneur de Corberon, Claude de Beauffremont, baron de Senecey, and Philibert de Cercy.<sup>20</sup> The Père de St. Romuald relates that these young gentlemen had gone to Lyons for the purpose of making wedding purchases.<sup>21</sup> Besides the sixain, giving an account of this accident, which is quoted by St. Romuald, there is in the unpublished history of Guichenon an epitaph of fifty verses.<sup>22</sup> The minutes of the meeting of the Echevins, on February 7, 1540, contain the following unpublished reference to this event:

"A esté mys en termes l'inconvenient venu puis huit jours en ça au lougeis du Porcellet, près Saint Heloy, duquel le derrier membre

<sup>18</sup> *Revue du Lyonnais, nouv. sér.*, XXX, 1865, pp. 354 etc. Another hotel bore the sign of a *truie qui file*.

<sup>19</sup> *Hist. généal. et chronol. de la maison royale de France*, fol.

<sup>20</sup> Pierre Palliot, in his *Hist. généal. de la maison de Bouton* (Paris, 1671, fol., p. 326), says that Claude Bouton, father of Jacques, was "seigneur de Corberon, de St. Bury, etc., Chambellan de l'empereur Charles Quint, Premier Maître d'Hôtel de Ferdinand, Archiduc d'Autriche, Grand Ecuyer de la Reine de Hongrie, etc."

<sup>21</sup> *Trésor chronol. et hist. contenant ce qui s'est passé de plus remarquable et curieux dans l'Estat . . . depuis l'an . . . 1200 jusqu'à l'an 1647, 3me partie*, Paris, 1647, fol., pp. 549-50.

<sup>22</sup> In the library of the School of Medicine at Montpellier.

dud. lougeis est tumbé de nuyt et y avoit monsr. Senecé, gros personnage et trois autres gentilz hommes de grosse maison et autres marchans estrangers y estans lougez y sont demeurez mors au grant inconvenient et scandelle de lad. ville et marchans.<sup>23</sup>

Aneau's poem on the collapse of this hotel bears the title, *Mal tousiours prest: aenigme* (C4 r<sup>o</sup>). Then comes a quatrain, which is as follows:

Dedans le corps d'un Lyon merueilleux  
Trois Adonis (vn porceau perilleux)  
Tua sans dent et sans les auoir mords  
Qui enterrez furent plutost que morts.

After this is a douzain in Latin, which the author republished in his *Picta Poesis* in 1552 (p. 117). And finally there is a *translation des vers precedens*.

Vne nuict, en vn lict couchez ensemble estoient  
Trois ieunes gentilz hom's de noblesse premiere  
Les deux, qui dormiroit au milieu, debatoient.  
Sur vn liure le tiers veilloit avec lumiere.  
Bruyt se faict. La maison tombe en rude maniere.  
Et mesme sort, nuyct, mort ces trois hommes encombre.  
Mil cinq cens quarante ans tourné auoit en nombre  
Le temps, quand a Lyon telle ruine aduint.  
Leurs noms furent Cercy, Corberon, Senecey.  
Comme vn mesme malheur: mesme tumbeau conuint  
S'ilz ont mesme maison au ciel? de ce ne scay,  
Ainsi soit.

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(To be continued)

<sup>23</sup> *Actes cons. de Lyon*, BB58, fol. 136. Three days later (Feb. 10), the Echevins decided "de faire visiter les vieilles maisons de ceste ville ruynans et qui sont en doubte de tumber pour obvier aux inconveniens qui s'en pourroient en suyvre ainsi qu'il est advenu puis dix jours en ça ou environ au logeur du Porscelles duquel le dernier (*derrière*) dudit logeur est tumbé de nuyt et y sont demourez le sieur de Senecé et trois autres gentilzhommes et marchans et quelques femmes et enfans qui y estoient lougez qui y ont esté veus et morts. . . ." *Rev. du Lyonnais*, *loc. cit.* For other references to the same accident, see Cochard's article in Breghot du Lut's *Mélanges*, p. 193, and Colonia, *Hist. litt. de Lyon*, Lyons, 1730, II, p. 669.